/xiii cont./

*114 121 127 [212] revolutionary activity, M. A. Krol', Shternberg writes (2):

> 2. I am indebted to the kindness of the widow of the deceased, S. A. Ratner-Shternberg, for acquainting me with the contents of this letter.

"I have discovered among them (the Gilyak) a kinship terminology and family-clan rights identical with those of the Iroquois and the famous punalua family (on the Sandwich Islands), in a word, the remains of that form of marriage on which Morgan based his theory and which served as a point of departure for Marx' and Engels' works on Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates, u.s.w. /the origin of the family, of the state, etc./. The interesting clan organization of the Gilyak, however, rests on this kinship system. At first I was afraid to trust my own discovery, but, having let not a single family or a single yurt go by during the census without detailed questioning as to what different members of the clan and family call one another and who has what rights, I finally became convinced (3). /xiv/ Al-

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> 3. Earlier in the same letter Shternberg mentioned that he had covered 1,040 Gilyak in his census.

though there are voluminous studies on the Gilyak, no one in the literature known to me has studied this aspect of the question."

*114 After his investigation of the Gilyak of the northwest coast, there followed a series of other trips which resulted in a full ethno-
● [125] graphic study of all Sakhalin. Thus, in June, 1891, he took the census of the Gilyak and the Orochi on the river Tym' and on the east coast of Sakhalin, and a partial one of the Tungus. In the winter of 1891 he encountered the Olcha who visited Sakhalin late in the fall for trading purposes. He spent the summer of 1892
[125] traveling on the river Poronai and around the entire southern part of Sakhalin as far as the settlement of Kosunaya, where, along with the Ainu and the Orok, he also studied and took a census of the Gilyak.

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582 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection
601 shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was indubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is
582 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches
584 her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engagement of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is educated until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual,
582 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of
614 compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how-
● [125] ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the census
[601] that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of the mother") from ancient times.

582 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even
178 now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way, then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs, sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

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58 [591] agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child, husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

59 [85] [551] [553] [684] [614]

*601 121 •125 [59] In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a type of individual family which is generally accepted as being patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

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[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

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presented by the author to the Moskovskoe obshchestvo liubitele estestvoznaniia /Moscow Society of Friends of Natural Science/ and appeared under the title "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" in 1893 in the organ of this society, Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie (1893, Book 2). In the foreign press there was a review of this article by Friedrich Engels in Die Neue Zeit, 1892-93, XI Jahrgang, B.I.

Subsequent censuses in other districts of the Gilyak territory (1891-94) gave me a full and comprehensive picture of their kinship nomenclature and sexual relations, with all their variants, in the different clans and dialects. In particular, during these years I succeeded in becoming acquainted with the unique family structure among the Sakhalin Ainu, sharply differentiated by the typical peculiarities of their maternality /materniteta/. In 1895 and 1896 I investigated in the same respect the Tungus tribes of the Priamur krai /the Amur region/, where I discovered a fully developed classificatory system of kinship resembling that of the Gilyak, but differing significantly from the latter. Thus I gathered sufficient material for a comprehensive comparison of both the kinship terminology and the clan-family mode of life of all the representatives of the Priamur krai.

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In view of the extreme importance of the kinship terminology for an understanding of the whole structure of the family and clan of the Gilyak, and in view of the extensive disputes that have recently arisen in scientific circles over the classificatory system of kinship and its significance, I consider it necessary to survey it in all its details.